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Bhinneka Tunggal Ika [Unity in Diversity]: From Dynastic Policy to Classroom Practice

The purpose of this article is to discuss the concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, in its narrowest sense, a policy on religious tolerance, as it is operationalized in social studies textbooks and in classroom practice in Indonesia. The focus of the research is on six electronic textbooks used by students aged 7-12 years, in Indonesian elementary schools which are further considered in the context of Indonesian teachers' actual experience of the operationalization of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in a classroom setting. The study shows that the textbooks and classroom practice are able to describe and transform a concept such as *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* into a real and meaningful concept or practice for students as practiced in the family, the school, the wider community and at a national level as well as in religious ceremonies, architecture, and *gotong-royong* (or reciprocal) activities. However, the state also has a political goal and this concept should also be viewed as underlying cultural policy designed to build a character and civilization appropriate to a pluralistic Indonesian nation.

Keywords:

Bhinneka tunggal ika, dynastic policy, textbook, social studies, elementary school

1 Introduction

Bhinneka Tunggal Ika or Unity in Diversity (Santoso 1975) is the official national motto of the Republic of Indonesia. "We are of many kinds, but we are one." The motto appears on the Indonesian national emblem *Garuda Pancasila* (the Eagle), on the scroll gripped by the Garuda's claws (Figure 1). It is also mentioned explicitly in Article 36A of the Indonesian Constitution of Indonesia „National emblem is *Garuda Pancasila* with motto *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*" (Mahkamah Konstitusi 1999, 81).

Figure 1: *Garuda*, the national emblem of Indonesia



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Bhinneka Tunggal Ika is a concept dating back to the third century which was central to the religious politics of the ruling dynasty¹. It was later adopted by the Indonesian government as a motto of national unity. However, this article will neither describe nor discusses it in the context of dynastic or state policy, but in the context of social studies for citizenship education.

This article describes how the concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is explained in textbooks and how it is used and implemented in social studies classroom practice. **It also describes how teachers deal with** conflicts in a citizenship classroom setting; and how it increases the students' awareness that *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is not merely political jargon. In other words, this article describes how textbooks and teachers transform *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* from an "ideological concept" developed for state or dynastic purposes into a "pedagogical concept" for citizenship education.

The rationale for this study includes the fact that Indonesian people are vulnerable to social conflicts caused by issues of ethnicity, religion, race, and inter-group relations. Therefore, it is important to understand and promote ways in which textbook, and the classroom practice in social studies can contribute to the building of unity and diversity among 300 ethnic groups in Indonesia.

The study includes an analysis of social studies electronic textbooks for six grades of elementary school in Indonesia used by pupils aged between seven and twelve years old. The findings are considered against a backdrop of reported and documentary evidence of teachers' actual experience of the use and implementation of the concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in classroom/school setting from some areas of Indonesia as published by Indonesia Teaching Foundation. The textbooks were compiled by

Muhammad Nursa'ban and Rusmawan (for grades 1-3) and Suranti Setiawan and Eko S Saptriarso (for grades 4-6). They have been assessed by the National Education Standards Board [*Badan Standar Nasional Pendidikan*] and deemed eligible to be used in all Indonesian elementary schools (Ministry of National Education Regulation Nr. 22/2007, Nr. 34 and 69/2008). The textbooks can be downloaded at <http://bse.kemdikbud.go.id/> and can be reprinted, altered, transformed, or copied freely for educational purposes.

The documentary evidence referred to above consists of memos, letters, position papers, examination papers, newspaper clippings, rubrics, student profiles, and so on (Hopkins 1993, 78). Such sources have been used extensively in action research projects (Sonstegard et al. 1971; Bonus, Riordan 1998; Colombo, Sadowski, Walsh 2000; Chiappetta et al. 2000; Kolb, Weede 2000; Capretz, Ricker, Sasak 2003), because the material is a natural and important part of teaching and learning and a powerful tool for the collection and recording of the rich detail available concerning a particular incident or event of an interesting or amusing nature in the classroom (Rhodes, Nathenson-Mejia 1992, 502-503). These notes are used to record objective and subjective information as well as affective information, such as levels of engagement, curiosity, and motivational factors (Boyd-Batstone 2004, 230).

2 The origins and the meaning of “*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*”

The concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is not new to Indonesian people. It can be traced back to the Sailendra or Sañjaya dynasty in the eighth and ninth centuries. This period was characterized by a peaceful co-existence and cooperation between Buddhism and Hinduism. This is indicated by the existence of Borobudur (Buddha temple) and Prambanan (Hindu temple) in close proximity to one another in Central Java (Figure 2).

Figure 2: Borobudur and Prambanan temples



Historians regard Borobudur as a symbol of the final resting place of King Sailendra, who unites with Buddha Gautama after his death, and the Prambanan temple complex is also associated with the tomb of a king (Network 2002; Widnya 2008). Two hundred years after the Kingdom of Sailendra, when King Airlangga built the Kahuripan Kingdom in East Java to unite the two *isms*, he also used the same principle. This is explained in a *kakawin*¹ (Old Javanese poem) *Arjuna Wiwāha* or *Arjuna*

Wijaya (*Arjuna's wedding*) written by ‘*Mpu*¹’ (Poet) Kaṇwa around AD 1030. The following quotation comes from *kakawin* *Arjuna Wiwāha* canto 27, stanza 2: „That is a reality, my lord the king, no different god Buddha with god Shiva, both are one, which embodied in Truth, and the Truth will also reach his nature, the One” (translated by Wiryamartana 1990, 124-182; Zoetmulder 1983, 415-437).

This principle is also found in the *kakawin* *Sutasoma*, written by ‘*Mpu*’ Tantar¹ during the reign of King Rajasanagara (Hayam Wuruk) from the Majapahit Kingdom in the 14th century. Historically, at that time, Hayam Wuruk is facing two opposing forces between Hindu (Shivaites), Majapahit’s official religion, and Buddhism as the second religion. The two forces start to destroy each other, and it leads to a problematic situation unfavorable to Majapahit Kingdom. The King then commands *Mpu* Tantar to write a *kakawin* to foster tolerance in both parties. Thus, this poem is a doctrine of reconciliation between the Hindu and Buddhist religions to promote tolerance between Hindu (Shivaites) and Buddhist (Mastuti, Bramantyo 2009; Mulyana 2006; Esink, 1974). The following quotation comes from canto 139, stanza 5.

„It is said that the well-known Buddha and Shiva are two different substances—they are indeed different, yet how is it possible to recognize their difference at a glance—since the truth of Jina (Buddha), and the truth of Shiva is one—they are different, but they are one, there is no duality in Truth” (translated by Santoso 1975, 578).”

Such a spirit of religious tolerance is an essential element in the foundation and the security of the newly created Majapahit Kingdom particularly when it reaches the height of its power and influence under Prime Minister Gajah Mada. Van der Meij (2011, 328) states that „the *Sutasoma* is a very interesting *kakawin*, because it shows perfectly how Hindu and Buddha blend in the Old Java world”. It also shows that the way Buddha and Siva merge is an important element in the religious make-up of the island. This noble path inspired Sawitri (2009) to critically consider the issue in the light of present-day Indonesian realities, especially in the context of relations between Balinese Hindu, the religion of the minority, and Islam, the religion of the majority, among the Indonesian population. Consideration is also directed towards relationships between the upper classes associated with royalty and the majority of the population which constitutes the lower classes.

The words of *Mpu* Tantar regarding *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* have also inspired Prof. Mr. Muhammad Yamin, one of the founders of the first Independent Government of the Republic of Indonesia. He proposes that it become the official national motto of the Republic of Indonesia

and a founding principle of the modern Indonesian nation. It is a concept which concerns more than tolerance of religious differences but also concerns tolerance of physical, cultural, linguistic, social, political, ideological and/or psychological difference. It represents a movement towards a more complex unity, based on an understanding that differences enrich human interactions (Lalonde 1994). In 2012, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat/MPR* (People's Consultative Assembly) of the Republic of Indonesia declared it to be one of Four *Pilar Kebangsaan* (National Pillars)¹.

3 Bhineka Tunggal Ika in the family

Family is the first element of community civics¹. Therefore, in the elementary social studies textbooks, *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is taught in grade 1 and is integrated into the topic entitled "living in harmony in the family." The topic—describes the diverse nature of families and their members (me, father, mother, brother, and sister). It covers differences in hobbies, social activities, work, habit, taste, and attitudes. It also touches upon the nature of different types of relationships associated with integrity, unity, harmony and peace in the family. The descriptions are intended to demonstrate to students that *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* is not just a slogan. Instead, it represents a social reality that can be experienced, practiced, and developed by each student in their family, as the smallest unit of community. They should become aware of the fact that differences between family members are not barriers for building harmony in the family.

Quotations and figures below come from the textbook for grade 1.

„My name is Wahyudin. In my family, we all have different hobbies. I love playing badminton, and so does my father. My mother loves cooking; my elder brother loves reading books, and my younger sister loves playing or collecting toys. My father and I are watching TV; mother is cooking at the kitchen; my elder brother is reading a textbook, and my younger sisters are playing with a toy car. We do not disrupt or disturb each other. We respect our differences. Our family lives peacefully” (Nursa’ban, Rusmawan 2010a, 56-57).“

„I am learning with my elder sister. I am doing math homework; she is learning English. We do not disturb each other. My elder brother teaches me Math. It makes me understand Math better. My homework is also finished faster. When my elder brother can’t find his pencil, I lend him mine. My brother’s task is also quickly finished. Harmony is beautiful. Living in harmony makes everything work well. Mother likes sweet food; father likes spicy food. They never fight;

both sweet and spicy foods are prepared” (Nursa’ban, Rusmawan 2010a, 58-60).

Figure3: Living in harmony in the family



Furthermore, textbooks also describe the diversity of the parents’ ethnicities and languages. This is one real example experienced and faced by students in their family life. Parents’ respect of each other’s differences through the use of the Indonesian language to communicate also gives a better understanding to students of the meaning of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*. In fact, dealing with differences in ethnicity and language has actually facilitated the creation of unity and harmony in the family, as the following quotation suggests.

„Mother is Javanese and father is Sundanese. Their customs are different; mother uses Javanese language, and the father uses Sundanese language. They communicate using the Indonesian language. Mother respects father’s customs; father also respects mother’s customs. They are different, but they are one. They live in harmony” (Nursa’ban, Rusmawan 2010a, 60-61).

To present an actual example of unity in diversity in the family life, the textbooks also present images of the places of worship for religions in Indonesia, side by side, to demonstrate harmony in religious life to the pupils (Figure 4). Although our religions are different, but we are still in harmony, in peace, and in unity.

Figure 4: Illustration a harmony in religious living in Indonesia



After showing the stories and pictures concerning diversity in family daily life, the textbooks also present the conceptual meaning of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* and its meaning for family life and Indonesian nation in general.

In this case, the textbooks again focus on demonstrating that the concept is not just an abstract one but that it has concrete implications for everyday life.

„Everyone is different. Living in harmony will create peace. There will be no conflict. Peace lives in harmony. Living in harmony is important to the family. Harmony is also the foundation of our nation, as shown in motto '*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*', we are different but are one" (Nursa'ban & Rusmawan 2010a, 64).

4 *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in the school

„The school itself is a community and education is a service to the larger community to which the school belongs" (Reuben 1997, 401). As a community, „a school or a class is a social laboratory for the study of democracy, a social space for people who have the right to expect training for good citizenship" (Field, Nearing 2007, v). Therefore, school or community is the second context, after the family, for students to learn and experience at first-hand the meaning of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*.

Each member of the school is different in ethnicity, culture, custom, language, and religion. Therefore, recognizing and respecting diversity at school is also important, so that the students understand how to create harmony and unity in the class or at school. The following quotation concerns how textbooks describe the concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in a classroom.

„Take a look at your friends in the class! Are any of them of Batak, Javanese or Sundanese ethnicity? Yes, even though we come from different ethnic groups, we are together. We must prioritize unity even though we are different. We should appreciate our differences. This is consistent with the ultimate goal of protecting all of the people of Indonesia. Try to find where the statement is written! The diversity of Indonesian cultures, customs, languages, and religions are not barriers to realizing the goal of unity. Unity must be fostered and guarded through cooperation in various fields, regardless of the differences" (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 76).

5 *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in the Indonesian nation-state

In classes 4-6, students are taught *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in a broader context, i.e. the nation-state of Indonesia. The textbooks' explanation is more abstract and conceptual, but it still has a functional link with students' prior knowledge and experience. In these classes, the importance of maintaining harmony, coexistence without hostility, and mutual respect towards different traditions is reemphasized. „We live in the archipelago of diverse cultures. Although there are

different ethnic groups, we must live in harmony, without hostility, and show mutual respect towards different traditions" (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 87). Figure 5 below illustrates the diversity of traditional clothes of ethnic groups in Indonesia.

Figure 5: Diversity of ethnic groups dresses in Indonesia



Historically, harmony has been nurtured and fostered. The peaceful life experienced by the Ambonese, who were newcomers in Java and lived among the native Javanese, Buginese, and Macassar peoples gives a clear example of this as indicated by the quotation below.

„Although there is a diversity in culture, our nation is still in unity. Do you remember the meaning of the motto "*Bhinneka Tunggal Ika Tan Hana Dharma Mangrwa*"? Yes, "Although we are different, we are still one." The phrase was written by Mpu Tantular in Sutasoma's poem. This indicates that living in harmony has long been developed in Indonesia. The diversity of Indonesia must be maintained as national identity" (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 73; 2009b, 75). „Ambonese ethnicity is native to the coast, but they live together with Javanese, Buginese, and Macassar migrants" (p 88).

The textbooks' explanations of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* are also associated with (1) philosophy, ideology and the foundation of the state, *Pancasila* (the Five Principles); (2) the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia 1945; (3) Unifying symbols of the nation-state of Indonesia such as the national flag, anthem, and language; (4) history of the struggle of Indonesia for independence; and (5) the Oath of Youth¹. The explanations are intended to reinforce the idea that *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* has been embedded in the life and the character of the nation-state of Indonesia. It represent its soul and its character.

„Many people and ethnic groups have the potential to engage in conflicts. We must avoid all things that might endanger the unity of the Indonesian state. The unity must be maintained by all Indonesian people,

according to the ideals of the founding of the nation since the early period."

This is written in the Preamble of the 1945 Constitution¹. Differences represent a reality of the nation, however Indonesia has a means of overcoming these differences (...) 1. *Pancasila* (the five principles), the state foundation, 2. The red and white national flag 3. The national anthem, *Indonesia Raya*. 4. The national language, Indonesian. 5. The history of the struggle for Indonesian independence, and 6. The Pledge of Indonesian Youth" (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 75-76).

The textbooks also provide pedagogical guidance to students regarding the importance of mutual respect for difference, so that conflicts among ethnic groups regarding such differences can be avoided. Diversity can even become a strength in building the nation. Selfishness on the part of individuals or groups (tribalism or regionalism) should be avoided by giving a priority to common goals.

„My friends, diversity should not become a stumbling block in the building of the nation. Instead, we should consider it a source of richness and strength. Positive attitudes towards cultural diversity result in the development of mutual respect such as 1) an avoidance of a sense of tribalism or regionalism, 2) the development of respect for other traditions or customs, 3) increased support for community activities, although they may not be traditional, 4) less discrimination towards other ethnic groups 5) prioritising common interests rather than a personal or ethnic group interest. In this way, we attempt to realize the unity of the nation" (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 97).

6 *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in religious ceremonies

Textbooks provide illustrations of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in various religious ceremonies which are blended with animist ceremonies, i.e. ceremonies which are associated with belief in ancestral spirits. In Indonesian society, there are traditional ceremonies celebrating birth, death, marriage, etc. The people of Indonesia are Muslim, Catholic, Protestant, or Hindu, but some of them still perform such animist rituals. In Islamic law (*shari'a*), such practices are considered *haram*, *bid'ah* in that new cases or practices are not regulated in Islamic law. Even, in fact, it becomes a symbol of the unity and social integration of Indonesia (Geertz 2013).

The quotation below describes examples of traditional ceremonies in several Indonesian regions, from the textbook of Class 4.

„*Bajijak Tanah* in Kalimantan and *Tedhak Siti* in Central Java, Yogyakarta, is a salvation ceremony for a child touching its feet on the ground and into river water for the first time (Figure 6). *Kasodo* in Tengger,

East Java, is a salvation ceremony carried out by throwing offerings into the Mount Bromo crater during the full moon. *Pago-Pago* in Batak, North Sumatra, is a ceremony which involves handing over one clan's land to another clan while having meals together. *Ruwatan* in Central Java, Yogyakarta, is a ceremony for self-purification in particular circumstances, such as having *anak tunggal* (a single child in the family). *Non-Wunja* in Toraja, South Sulawesi, is a salvation ceremony for the post-harvest period" (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 79).

Figure 6: *Tedhak Siti* ceremony in Central Java, Yogyakarta



Creative acculturation of animist rituals into their religions by ethnic groups in Indonesia is called syncretism or "*vermenging*" (Zoetmulder 1983). Scholars recognize that such ability comes from local wisdom or local genius of Indonesia. It is considered the incorporation of various cultural elements into a distinctive Indonesian culture (Budiqiyanto 2005; Lestari 2000; Supomo 1995). Dutch philologist J.L.A. Brandes (cit. Munandar 2005) argues in his theory "*Brandes Tien Puten*" or "*Brandes' Ten Points*" that the elements, which have been developed since pre-history, include the following: 1. Agriculture and farming, 2. Sailing and wind direction, 3. the puppet show (*wayang*), 4. *Gamelan* or orchestra, 5 *Batik* or ornamental art , 6. Metal crafts, 7. Metric or measurement tools, 8. Coin exchange, 9. Astrology, and 10. Organized society. All these elements have become a source of national pride and admired by the world communities.

The quotation below presents examples of how Indonesian people from different religions still perform some animist rituals, such as *mambo*, *pelebegu*, *selamatan*¹, or other ceremonies. Through these examples, students are expected to gain a deeper understanding and appreciation for the fact that *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* can be manifested in many aspects of life, including in their practice of religious ceremonies.

„The Minangkabau ethnic group is Muslim, but they still perform several traditional rituals such as '*turun mandi*' and '*turun tanah*' (take a shower and touch the ground) (...). The religion of the Minahasa is Protestant, Catholic, or Buddhist, but they still believe in ancestral spirits (animism) and practice various traditional rituals, called *mambo* (...). The religions of the Nias are

Protestantism, Catholicism, Islam, and Buddhism, but they still believe in ancestral spirits called *pelebegu* (...). The majority of Sundanese people are Muslim, but on Friday night, they often hold the most important of the animist ceremonies *slametan* (...). Islam development in the Javanese community is extensive. However, they still perform *slametan* rituals to preserve people's lives from the interference of ancestral spirits and supernatural beings. According to the *slametan* ritual, they give offerings, which are placed in certain locations, such as in wells, doors, and at the junctions of several roads? Examples of salvation rituals are circumcision, weddings, and *tingkeban* (salvation ritual for a woman who is seven-months pregnant, and it is held only for the first child (...). Most Papuans are Christians, but they still believe ancestral spirits" (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 88-93).

7 *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in the design of mosques, palaces, and graves

The textbooks also describe *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in the context of the integration of Islamic mosques, palaces, and graves into a Hindi cultural context in terms of their design. The Islamic architecture is specific to Indonesia and cannot be separated from the roles of Nine Islamic Saints (Figure 7) called '*Wali Songo*'¹. Stories suggest that *syncretism* of Javanese people has become the norm, rather than the exception. Thus, in this Java Islamization period, *syncretism* becomes more dominant in the interior than in coastal Java (Ali 2011). Acculturation has become a main characteristic of the architecture of Islamic mosques in Indonesia (Pijper 1984, 14-66). In Islamic doctrines, it is made possible, because „Islam is a democratic religion, and it does not recognize social differences and personal degrees,, (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 31).

Figure 7: '*Wali Songo*' (Nine Islamic Saints) in Java Islamization



A textbook for Grade 4 shows examples of Islamic mosques in Indonesia that have integrated architectural elements of Hindi cultures and Islamic indigenous cultures, such as the mosques in Aceh in Sumatra, and

Banten and Kudus in Java. The same phenomenon can also be found in the Kaibon Palace in Banten.

„Aceh Mosque Baiturrahman (...) has architectural forms and patterns, which are a blend of Islamic and Hindi elements (...). The Great Mosque of Banten is a relic of the Islamic Kingdom; it has a square-shaped roof with a staircase top (...). Kudus Mosque in Central Java is a relic of Sunan Kudus' home; it has a unique tower, a blend of Islamic and Hindi cultures. The minaret of Kudus Mosque has a shape like temples in East Java and is built from red bricks and has overlapping high-rooves (*atap tumpang*)" (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 115-117). „The Banten palace, which was built by Sunan Gunung Jati (*Faletehan*) around the 16th century (...), and the Kaibon Palace are a blend of Islamic and Hindi cultural patterns" (p 120).

In textbooks for Grades 4 and 5, there are also examples that show architectural integration between Islamic, Hindi, and Megalithic cultures in Islamic graves. In general, an Islamic tomb consists of three elements, *Cungkup* (cupola), *Kijing* (gravestone), and *Nisan* (headstone). '*Cungkup*', a house with an overlapping high-roof, is a representation of a mountain, the highest place, the most respected place in the religious tradition of Hindu. '*Kijing*' is a *staircase stone* as the keystone of the grave, a heritage of Megalithic culture. '*Nisan*', which functions as a marker stone placed at the top or the head of grave, has a shape like *lingga* (the phallic symbol of God Śiva). Even the grave of Sunan Bayat in Klaten, Central Java, has two gates, similar to Hindu temple *Candi Bentar* (the Split Temple).

„The Sunan Bayat grave in Klaten, Central Java (...) has peculiar gates that resemble a Hindu temple called *Candi Bentar* (Split Temple)" (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 121). „The Islamic graves consist of cupola, gravestone, and headstone. A cupola is a house that is built to protect the graves of important people. The gravestone is a covering stone on the grave, and the headstone is a marker milestone implanted in the grave" (2009b, 38).

Figure 8: The Entrance gates to Sunan Bayat Mosque, and Islamic grave with Hindu Megalithic elements



8 *Gotong Royong* [communal working or mutual assistance] in diversity

Gotong Royong (a Javanese expression for working together) is another form of the manifestation of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in public life. It is one of the core tenets of Indonesian philosophy on togetherness in diversity. It is a native tradition of Indonesia to accomplish a task together without recognizing boundaries, differences, and social strata. The phrase has been translated into English in many ways, most of which are associated with the concept of reciprocity or mutual assistance.

Taylor and Aragon (1991, 10) state that „*gotong royong* is cooperation among many people to attain a shared goal. *Gotong royong* is a key element in the power system and the political culture of Indonesia”. According to Bowen (1986, 545), „*gotong royong* as the power system and the political culture of Indonesia has three ongoing processes. They are: (1) the conscious dilution local cultural realities; (2) the construction of a national tradition on the basis of this process; and (3) the inclusion of state cultural representations as part of strategy of intervention in the rural sector and the mobilization of rural labor”.

Clifford Geertz (2000) points out the importance of *gotong royong* in Indonesian life.

„An enormous inventory of highly specific and often quite intricate institutions for effecting cooperation in work, politics, and personal relations, vaguely gathered under culturally charged and fairly well indefinable value-images—*rukun* ('mutual adjustment'), *gotong royong* ('joint bearing of burdens'), *tolong-menolong* ('reciprocal assistance')—governs social interaction with a force as sovereign as it is subdued" (p 167-234).

The textbooks provide various examples of *gotong royong* in family, school, community, and at the level of the state.

8.1 *Gotong royong* in the family

Gotong royong is carried out in the family through various activities, such as „keeping the house and the yard clean, healthy, neat, comfortable, and not boring” (Nursa’ban, Rusmawan 2010a, 103-110) (Figure 9). It is implemented on the basis of trust, honesty, compassion and sincerity, and aims to develop a sense of responsibility and of belonging among family members. It also creates a sense of togetherness, brotherhood, unity, peace, and harmony in family life.

„I really love mother; I often help her clean the house. I also obey mother (1:39). Each member of the family has a role – father works for a living – mother cares for the family - children learn and respect their parents - if each family member plays his or her role

well, it will create harmony in the family” (Nursa’ban, Rusmawan 2010b, 44).

Figure 9: *Gotong royong* in the family



8.2 *Gotong royong* at school

Gotong royong at school is conducted by students through various activities, such as cleaning the school yard, classroom and blackboard, caring for flowers and other plants in the school garden and maintaining classroom equipment (Figure 10). „These activities are conducted in groups, according to a schedule” (Nursa’ban, Rusmawan 2008, 10-11, 26). Through these activities, students are expected to develop a sense of responsibility and ownership of their class, as well as a sense of intimacy, togetherness, unity and harmony among the students.

„The number of students of Grade 2 at Tunas Harapan Elementary School is 24. They have a duty to conduct a cleaning class-picket in groups. Each group consists of four students, and their duty includes dusting, leading prayer, or wiping the board. They all are diligent and happy” (Nursa’ban & Rusmawan 2010b, 69).

Figure 10: *Gotong royong* in the school



8.3 *Gotong royong* in the neighborhood

Unlike in family and school situations, *gotong royong* in the neighborhoods is conducted as a form of social exchange (social reciprocity) among individual members of society, based on brotherhood and is of a voluntary nature (egalitarian and communitarian). There is no coercion. It is done to obtain reciprocal benefits of a social, aesthetics, religious, moral and legal nature but not of a financial one (Mauss 1992). The purpose of *gotong royong* is „to accelerate the completion of work, save energy, strengthen brotherhood, and create a sense of security” (Nursa’ban, Rusmawan 2010b, 76-77; cf. Stafford 2008). „Living in the neighborhood, we must help each other and work together with friends or people

around us" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2010b, 64). The textbooks classify *gotong royong* in the neighborhood into several types according to the purposes, and the number of people involved.

The first category is 'one-to-one assistance'. It is a form of cooperation between two neighboring individuals who need each other. „Fellow neighbors should help each other. If we do something good today, we will be helped, too, one day" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2010b, 70). These activities are based on the principle of 'give and take' and is designed to ease one's work, or to give mutual help between members of a neighborhood to fulfill their needs. It can also strengthen and increase brotherhood, altruism and empathy. For example, „someone helps his neighbor to repair his damaged roof" (p 68) or „drive her to the hospital" (2008, 28). *Sinoman* and *sambatan* are other examples of *gotong royong* found within this category (Pribadhi 2011; Hastowiyono 2005).

„When we lift heavy goods, they will be lighter when we do it together. In life, we must help each other and work jointly with friends and people around us" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2010b, 63) (...).„Our neighbours are our brothers. Moreover, we live far away from family. If we are in trouble, we can ask our neighbors for help. Likewise, if our neighbour is in distress, we must help them. We should work together with our neighbours" (p 70; 2008, 27-28).

The quotations and Figure 11 below are two examples of *gorong-royong* between two people in a particular neighborhood as taught in Textbook for Grade 2.

Case 1: Amir helps Mr. Amat repair his damaged roof.

„Mr. Amat wants to repair his damaged roof. He asks Amir politely. Luckily, Amir has a spare roof, and he helps Mr. Amat gladly. Mr. Amat and Amir work together to repair it. After that, they are tired and take a rest. Later, they continue the work until it is done. Mr. Amat thanks Amir" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2010b, 68).

Case 2: Mrs. Tuti asks Mrs. Ani for sugar.

„When there are guests, Mrs. Tuti runs out of sugar. Then she asks Mrs. Ani, her neighbour, for sugar. Mrs. Ani gives her the sugar she needs. One day, Mrs. Ani cannot find her house key. Mrs. Tuti sees this and calls Tono, her son, for help. Tono and Mrs. Tuti help Mrs. Ani finds the key. Finally, Tono finds the key outside the door. Mrs. Ani thanks Mrs. Tuti and Tono" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2010b, 71).

Figure 11: Gotong royong type "one-to-one" in the Community



The second category is known as 'one-to-many assistance'. It is a form of cooperation, in which a person works with others for the community. An example would be „Siskamling (night patrolling) which is designed to safeguard the local environment" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2010b, 74; 2008, 31). This type is based on proximity and is also voluntary (egalitarian and communitarian). Its purpose is to strengthen and increase „a sense of brotherhood, environmental awareness and common security" (2010b, 76-77), as well as the responsibility of the individual for the achievement of common goals. The quotation and Figure 12 below are examples of gotong royong, in which a person works with others for the benefit of the community.

Title: Citizens do night patrolling.

„Neighborhood security is the responsibility of all citizens. We can maintain security with night patrolling. Night patrolling is done by every citizen in rotation (...). In the daytime, citizens also have to maintain security. If there is a suspicious person, he/she must report it to the head of the local community" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2010b, 74; 2008, 31). „Citizens of the RT-5/RW-12 [a neighborhood unity under the village]¹ in Salam village conduct night patrolling from 22.00 until 05.00 in the morning to make the area safe" (2010b, 75).

Figure 12: Gotong royong type "one-to-many" in the Community



The third type falls under the heading of 'many-to-one assistance', and is a form of cooperation whereby many people work together on behalf of an individual. An example would be when many people help someone affected by disaster, such as „his/her or her house being damaged by a falling tree" (Nursa'ban, Rusmawan 2010b, 72-74; 2008, 29-30) or when „he/she experiences unfortunate death" (2010b, 72) (Figure 13). This type is also based on proximity, empathy and its voluntary

(egalitarian and communitarian) nature. The aim is to strengthen and increase the sense of brotherhood, empathy and philanthropy. The quotation below is an example of *gotong royong* of this type.

Title: *Gotong royong to repair a house.*

„One day, it rains heavily. A tree has fallen on Mr. Made’s house damaging the roof. Many people come to help to repair it. They bring equipment. Everybody helps to repair Mr. Made’s roof. This is a form of cooperation. The concept of *Gotong royong* creates a spirit of brotherhood, and unity becomes an established strength. *Gotong royong* is the character of Indonesia” (Nursa’ban, Rusmawan 2008, 30).

Figure 13: *Gotong royong* type “many-to-one” in the Community



The fourth type ‘*many-to-many assistance*’, is a form of cooperation, in which many people work together for the common interest of a community. An example of this type is „*kerja-bakti* (a community service) which involves cleaning and repairing village roads and building bridges or neighborhood facilities” (Nursa’ban, Rusmawan 2010b, 78; 2008, 30) (Figure 14). This type is also voluntary and based on proximity togetherness, unity, and harmony. The aim is to strengthen and increase the sense of brotherhood and kinship among community members; and to develop a sense of responsibility among members for a common goal of the community. The quotation below is an example of *gotong royong* this type.

Title: *Kerja bakti [A Community Service]*

„The Celebration of Indonesian Independence on August 17th is coming soon. Mr. Tono as the head of RT-5/RW-12 asks the citizens of the community to perform a *community service* on Sunday. All citizens will clean the streets something which has clearly not been done for some time. On Sunday, men and women gather on the village streets. They carry sickles and hoes. Mothers provide a variety of meals. Exactly, at twelve o’clock, the work is completed. Before going home, they enjoy the meals that have been provided. Now the streets at RT-5 are clean” (Nursa’ban, Rusmawan 2008, 30-31).

Figure 14: *Gotong royong* type “many-to-many” in the Community



8.4 *Gotong royong* in the nation-state

This type of *gotong royong* is pursued by the Government through a variety of activities/events nationwide. It is designed to build a sense of togetherness, unity, and integrity. The textbooks describe some activities undertaken by the Government to promote a spirit of *gotong royong* or cooperation at national level, as shown below:

„The government has taken ways to realize national unity as follows: 1. Holding national and regional sport-activity weekends; 2. Arranging national and regional scouting programs; 3. Organizing social movements participated in by members of all religions; 4. Introducing and developing local cultures as national culture; and 5. Equalizing national development throughout Indonesia” (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 76).

The textbooks also present a form of *gotong-royong* in the economy called ‘*Koperasi*’, or „joint ventures which have existed since the colonial period” (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 163). *Koperasi* can be classified according to type of business and membership. In terms of the former, for example, there are consumer-based *Koperasi* as well as those for producers, savers and lenders. In terms of the latter, „there are *Koperasi* for schools, civil servants, local markets, villages as well as for workers” (p 170-173). *Koperasi* is an economic joint venture that consists of people or business entities. It grows based on kinship principles and its priority is the welfare of its members. A reference to *Koperasi* is contained in the Constitution of 1945 in Article 33, Paragraph (1), „The economy is composed of joint ventures organized and run according to the principles of kinship”. It is also stated that *Koperasi* is the most suitable form of joint venture for Indonesia” (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 167; 2009b, 87).

Figure 15: *Koperasi* in "the rural" and "the school"



In addition to the types of *gotong-royong* mentioned above, some ethnic groups in Indonesia still preserve and develop several artistic forms of performance said to embody the spirit of *gotong royong*, among them „*Tari Piring* (Plate Dance) in Minangkabau, West Sumatra, and *Raron* or *Marsiurupan* in Batak-Karo, Northern Sumatra" (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009a, 89). These dances suggest „cooperation in social work" (p 34, 81).

9 Bhinneka Tunggal Ika in action

To provide an overview of the use and implementation of the concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* in a classroom setting, further descriptions below present some examples of good practice based on teachers' experiences from various regions in Indonesia.

Sulistyo (IM 2012), a young teacher in a hinterland Bima, has a simple idea of how to connect his students with other students from various regions in Indonesia, so that they develop their sense of national unity and solidarity. For that purpose, he has designed an innovative approach to the study of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* using correspondence activities entitled "*Jejaring Anak Indonesia*" (Indonesian Children's Network). Every student is required to send a letter to a "*Sahabat Pena*" (Pen Friend) forum, or to send gifts for their friends throughout Indonesia. This way, they have a greater insight and concrete knowledge and understanding about the country from first-hand experience. According to Sulistyo, these activities have two missions: (1) to train students to express their ideas, thoughts, and feelings; (2) to facilitate student's building friendships and recognizing cultural diversity and various ways of life in different regions in Indonesia.

„Students are given the task of writing a letter to their friends in North Aceh, whom they know from television a few months earlier. They are also asked to send gifts (e.g. "*Origami*") using materials available in their village to build personal connections. They are very pleased, enthusiastic, and eager to complete their assignments. They would like to submit the letters immediately to the 'Pen Friend Forum', so that they can be read by their friends in North Aceh. I am also very pleased and touched by their sincerity and enthusiasm to make friends with children throughout Indonesia (...). Finally, they understand the diversity in

the archipelago, and further become acquainted with their new friend called 'Indonesia'. Their love for the country begins to grow slowly, bringing to fruition the seeds of nationalism that have taught them the meaning of Indonesia from an early age. An understanding built on personal knowledge and experience is an important factor in character building, especially for students in a country with diverse culture. Their world has been limited by its island nature, sea, mountains, and rivers. Now, they find a way to recognize their country's diversity. This activity provides a chance for them to widen their horizons beyond the archipelago" (IM 2012).

Diversity is also a very difficult concept for elementary students. It is not easily comprehended based on verbal explanation alone. The use of instructional media such as video are more effective in that they present concrete examples of the differences in society, especially for students in the islands, who have little interaction with outsiders. Students who live in Bawean Island as described below in Farhati's (IM 2012) example illustrates this well:

„A child who lives in a heterogeneous environment since childhood will have more opportunities to see and learn about diversity. However, a child who lives in a homogeneous environment (and never sees or learns about diversity), when seeing something different from him/her, will be shocked. In fact, it is likely that he/she will give a negative response or even a rejection. That happened to my students in Bawean (...). Therefore, when teaching, I regularly invite children to watch video series about the lives of children in various regions in Indonesia. They understand that in other regions, there are children who have to ride a boat to go to school. They know there are children who know how to use guns since childhood because they use it to help their parents to hunt animals in the forest; and that language and customs of every society are also different (...). One day, I play on a video about children in Eastern Indonesia. Some students are laughing. 'Mam, look, these children are so black!' A student exclaimed. I try to explain: 'It is a gift from God. God has created people differently, so if we laugh at them, we also laugh at the Creator. Who dares to laugh at God?' Everyone is silent, feeling guilty."

Like the concept of diversity, the meaning of the relationship, cooperation or *gotong royong* cannot be explained simply to elementary students. For a teacher, "learning by doing" is the most appropriate approach both inside and outside of the classroom. The example below comes from a teacher's teaching experience in the use of "old newspapers" as learning material and cooperative learning as a teaching and learning strategy.

It is an example of good practice concerning how to build students' awareness of the importance of relationships and cooperation or *gotong royong* in community life. It shows students how to communicate effectively and accept difference. They learn how diversity of opinion can enrich a concept that they already have. The students were tasked with finding news, issues, or problems in old newspapers related to various social themes, such as cooperation, accommodation, assimilation, acculturation, and conflicts.

„The class is divided into groups. Each group consists of 4-5 students. I provide a student worksheet for each group. While students are working in groups, I observe carefully and accompany each group to motivate the students. I am also directly involved in the group to give guidance. Direct guidance in groups is more effective than classical guidance. The lesson begins through a game called “Completing Letters.” First, we compile pictures from old newspapers. The theme is functional and dysfunctional social relations. Students scramble the pictures to complete a series of letters based on images on the board. Students in the groups choose the pictures or articles in the old newspapers, which are related to social themes that I have decided in advance. Each group has different articles, about accommodation, assimilation, acculturation and conflict. They discuss and present the results by using the student worksheets provided. It is heartening for me to hear each group race to respond to the arguments of other groups” (USAID 2012, 5).

Learning by doing about cooperation and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* outside of the classroom can be implemented more effectively through actual practice, such as cleaning up the classroom and the schoolyard. A sense of belonging is also generated and awareness of students' responsibilities heightened. Relations and collaborations between students and between a teacher and a student become more flexible, familiar, and liquid. Even small conflicts can be resolved, without anyone being blamed or sanctioned. The example below is a special case of learning social studies. The subject is citizenship education, handled outside of the classroom in an Indonesian context. This is designed to empower pupils and cultivate character development. In the Grand Design of Character Education (Kemendiknas, 2010) such activities become habitual and character forming.

„I look at the classroom, which is very dirty. I and the Grade 1 students take the initiative to clean the classroom. Children are happily (...). Some students take the initiative to borrow a bucket, a boiler, a broom, and a brush from neighbors near the school. 'Mam Halida also comes to brush the floor, yeah!' A student exclaims. This encouraged other grade 1

students, currently playing in the yard, to join in. Then, all of the students fight for the brush to scrub the floor. At that time, the situation is chaotic. Some girls cry because they 'lost the war' in a fight for the brush. Finally, I decide to distribute the tasks. I tell the students, 'Boys are handsome and strong (I deliberately give a compliment so that they will be more excited), so their duty is to bring water, while the girls are beautiful and diligent, so they will help Ms. Halida scrubbing floor.' All agree; all rejoice, no objection nor protest. We all work together bringing water, scrubbing the floor, washing windows (...). 'All are happy; all are cheerful.' I wonder what happens when suddenly the cleaning activities in Class 1 transform into cleaning activities in all of the classes. I am even more surprised when 'Dewan Guru' (the Teacher Council) also participates in the Cleaning event. A 'Clean-class Movement' then transforms into a 'Clean-school Movement.' Finally, all of the students are engaged in cleaning the schoolyard, prayer room, kitchen, and bathroom.

That day, I personally witnessed the 'miracle' of the words *gotong royong*. Starting from *gotong royong* of Grade 1 students, the movement becomes one big 'Clean-school Movement.' In the midst of the crush of reality, I am grateful to witness an Indonesian identity. The spirit of *gotong royong* and kinship in the minds of its citizens apparently never really fades away. That day, I personally witnessed a hugely positive movement. Even though it is only within the boundaries of a school, it is considered a success because it was initiated by students of Grade 1, whose age is no more than seven years. 'Oh.... I will be optimistic for the future of Indonesia in their hands!' (IM 2012).

In Indonesian schools, *gotong royong* activities as explained above are usually held on Fridays, a special day for all school members, a day of friendship, togetherness, cooperation, mutual assistance and care for individual and social health. *Jumat Berseri (Hari Jumat Bersih, Sehat, Rapih, dan Indah)* [Clean, Healthy, Neat, and Beautiful Friday).

„Friday is a day of social learning and character building for my young generation. A special day for those of us who dream of future leaders who are not only smart and intellectual, but also have a social care and a willingness to sacrifice for the benefit to the community and respond to the issues with the *action* (...). I am often touched at this moment. This is a precious learning for me, learning sincerity, working with heart without expecting anything. *Gotong royong* to clean the school (...) also deepens students' environmental awareness" (IM 2012).



Such active learning about cooperation and *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* outside of the classroom context also can be found in the “*makan-bersama*” (dining together) activity in a free ‘*Sekolah Darurat*’ (Emergency School). The school has been established to accommodate disadvantaged children, who are not able to enroll in formal schools. They are street-children such as shoeshine boys, street vendors, newspaper and toy sellers, who are economically, socially, and educationally marginalized. Basically, they all are children who have talent; therefore, it is no wonder that they succeed in many fields of business. Some of them become singers, painters, shopkeepers, policemen or employees at the tax office. There is even a winner in the National Creative Robot Competition held by the Sepuluh November Institute of Technology in Surabaya among them. The Institute (well known as ITS) is recognized as one of the best technological universities in Indonesia. Cooperation, togetherness, spirit and sense of common destiny are the key to their success.

We read below how the dining activity enables them to learn about the meaning of cooperation and *gotong royong*. The activities are held at Kartini Emergency School, which is located under the toll bridge in Ancol, Jakarta.

„When break time comes, they line up to take a bowl of chicken soup and a glass of tea. Senior students serve the junior students by pouring chicken and rice soup into the bowls they are holding. ‘It is for the children not just for the ingredients.’ One of the senior students, Riani, says to *VIVAnews*. Each day, the menu is varied, not merely chicken soup. While eating chicken soup made by their junior, Riani and Rossi (senior students) explain that every new student is given toiletries, uniforms, shoes, socks and other school supplies. All purchases are made by them personally. Riani says: ‘Dining together every break time is our way to teach juniors about *gotong-royong*. Here, we teach them the nature of togetherness. Those who are more mature should assist their younger sisters/brother. We use cooking as a medium of instruction. They must bring the bowls from home. They also take turns to cook. Although they dine on the land, surrounded by slums, they remain in the spirit of the exercise and learn to be happy and excited” (Admin 2013).

10 Conclusions

The content in the textbooks analyzed for this study concerns the concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* and its implementation in the social studies classroom. The findings indicate that both textbooks and teachers succeed in making the concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* meaningful to their students in the context of citizenship education. Their reports and the related documentation

including the textbooks suggest that they are capable of presenting it using real-world examples reflecting the reality of family and school life as well as with regard to membership of a nation state. They were also able to operationalize it in terms of religious ceremonies; architecture and with regard to the *gotong-royong* activities in community life.

Two criteria are helpful in determining the success or otherwise of teachers and textbooks in this regard. The first concerns whether they extend the pupil's experience by enlarging his or her opportunity to understand and participate in unity in diversity both in the school and in the community outside. Secondly, they should be assessed with regard to how the extent to which make the fullest possible use of the concept both as a means of demonstrating the operation of the fundamental principles of unity in diversity in civic life, and as a means of cultivating habits, ideals, and attitudes conducive to unity in diversity. Education through actual practical examples is an essential factor in such citizenship education.

On the other hand, of course, the concept of *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* cannot be viewed solely from a theoretical, pedagogical perspective without reference to the political goals of the state. In other words, it also forms part of the cultural and educational policy of the state which is designed to prepare students as citizens capable of living in a pluralistic society and in peaceful co-existence with one another. They should also be in a position to contribute to national integration and to the development of a national character and civilization appropriate to a pluralistic Indonesian nation (Hanum 2012). The history of textbook development in schools in general and the development of those in the field of social studies in particular has always been associated with attempts by a regime to achieve its ideological, political, social, cultural, and/or economic goals (Crawford, 2003a-b; Wenzeler, 2003; Nicholls, 2005; Repoussi, Tutiaux-Guillon, 2010; Khine, 2013). Therefore, textbooks contain pedagogical content and simultaneously reflect a ‘hidden curriculum’ which consists of values expectations, attitudes, opinions, and ideologies (Setyowati, Jatiningsih 2007) which it is expected will be transferred to the learner. As such, they are open to criticism and if not carefully designed can lead to indoctrination of the state's ideologies or interests. Mulder's critical study of social studies textbooks (1997) for students from elementary to high school in Indonesia are a concrete example of such criticism.

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Endnotes

¹ In Indonesian history, three families or kinships called "the dynasty" used *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika* as the basis for their policies on religious tolerance. They are: Sailendra-Saṅjaya (7-8th centuries) in Central Java; Isyana (9-10th centuries) and Rajasa (13-16th centuries) in East Java. In some Indonesian ethnic communities, the dynasty were also called "wangsa" or "trah" (Java), and "marga" (Minangkabau) (Sugono et al 2008, 134).

² *Kakawin* is an epic poem written in *wirama* (metres). According to Pigeaud (1967, 157-197), it is a most popular exercise for East Javanese poems and their main characters, more than half of them, are identified and show heroes and heroines of their Kings (princes or princesses). Their presence has also considered as a source of ethical and spiritual guidance for the Javanese Kings and population in general (Bellwood, Fox, Tryon 1995).

³ The word "*Mpu*" was a title in the Hindu-Buddha periods and used by those who were powerful, clever or expert in composing *kakawin* or *puja-sastra* (worship literature) (e.g. *Mpu* Kanwa, *Mpu* Panuluh, *Mpu* Sedah, *Mpu* Tantular), making *keris* (creese) (e.g. *Mpu* Gandring), or a spiritual preceptor of the kingdom (e.g. *Mpu* Bharada).

⁴ The name "Tantular" consists of two words: '*tan*' (no) and '*tular*' (mouth or affected). It means he is a "*firm*." Tantular is a Buddha, but also welcomes other religions, especially Hindu-Shiva (Sawitri 2009).

⁵ The four National Pillars are the noble values of Indonesia as a nation-state contained in the following: (1) *Pancasila* is basic principles of the Nation of Indonesia, (2) the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia 1945, (3) the unitary state of the Republic of Indonesia, and (4) *Bhinneka Tunggal Ika*, the motto of the state (Republic of Indonesia 2012).



⁶ Community civics is a new concept in social studies teaching proposed by Arthur W. Dunn to build and extend the pupil's consciousness and experience a few essential ideas, which will help to determine his ideals and attitudes, by a judicious use of facts, which will thereby be more readily understood and remembered. It may be summed up as: (1) the demonstration to young citizens, by reference to their own observations and experience, of the meaning of his community life (local and national), and of government in relation to that life; (2) the cultivation of certain habits, ideals, and attitudes essential to effective participation in that life through government and otherwise. In short, the concept is the interpretation of citizenship and of government in relation to national and world-wide, as well as local, community relations and interests. It is national community of interdependence, national interdependence, and national need for team work. It is an integrated form of government including local, state, and national elements (Dunn 1921, v).

⁷ The Oath of Indonesian Youth was declared at the first Indonesian youth Congress 1928 in Batavia (now Jakarta, capital of the Republic of Indonesia). It consists of three declarations: Firstly, we the sons and daughters of Indonesia acknowledge one motherland, Indonesia. Secondly, we the sons and daughters of Indonesia acknowledge one nation, the nation of Indonesia. Thirdly, we the sons and daughters of Indonesia uphold the language of unity (Posponegoro & Notosusanto 1993). Sixteen years earlier (1334 AD), Gajah Mada, a Prime Minister of the Majapahit kingdom had also declared the same oath to unite the whole archipelago under Majapahit control, so-called the "the Oath of Palapa or *Amukti Palapa*." "If Nusantara (all of the archipelago) has been conquered, I will not taste *palapa* (fruits and or spices). If Gurun (Nusa Penida), Seram, Tanjungpura, Haru (Karo), Pahang, Dempo (in Sumbawa), Bali, Sunda, Palembang (Sriwijaya Kingdom), Tumasik (Singapore) has been conquered, I will never taste any spice" (Mulyana 2006, 132).

⁸ In the Preamble of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia 1945 stated "(...) to build the government of the state of Indonesia that can protect all the people of Indonesia and the whole entirstated, "(...), Indonesia (...) based on (...) *the Unity of Indonesia* (...)" (Mahkamah Konstitusi [the Court of Constitution] 1999).

⁹ 'Mambo' and 'pelebegu' is a belief in ancestral spirits of the Indonesian ancestors in the pre-history period. 'Selamatan' (or *selametan*, and *slamatan*) is the core ritual in Javanese religion, in particular, the *abangan* (red Islam) variant, symbolizing the social unity of those participating in it. The feast is also common among the closely related Sundanese and Madurese people (Geertz 2013)

¹⁰ These are religious figures which have a historic role in the spread of Islam in Java (Suranti, Saptriarso 2009b,

31). They are called "*Sunan*"—a short version of '*Susuhunan*' (who worshiped), a title used by Indonesian ancestor in the pre-Islamic period. The title given by the Javanese and Sundanese to rulers, clerics and even deities that have been exemplary in their conducts over time, and became a model to be emulated and followed by others (Hallaq 2005).

¹¹ "*Rukun Warga*" (RW) is a neighborhood unity under the village (*dusun*, *nagari*, *dukuh*, *lingkungan* atau *banjar*) which consists of 3-10 RTs. "*Rukun Tetangga*" (RT) is a neighborhood unity under RW which consists of 30-60 families. Both are not a division of the governmental administration, but are developed from an Indonesian native neighborhood unity on the base of local peoples' consensus (*musyawarah*) and values such as *gotong royong*, and kinship principles. Both are building to: (1) organize, and serve local community needs; (2) facilitate, improve, and establish the tasks of the government, development; and (3) sustain social order, welfare, and security in the village area (Permendagri No.7/1983).

